1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

side, where it is allowed to "ripen" for use as medicine, "soap," or as a mordant. Infant excretions on the dirt floor of a ruka are treated with calm indifference. On one occasion I watched a little boy being held by his mother while he vomited into the fireplace. No one, except this observer, seemed greatly concerned.

Although the Araucanians are no longer addicted to bathing in icy streams, as was their ancient custom, mothers still prefer to wash their small youngsters in cold water and to wrap them warmly afterward. Children are bathed often, and the laundering of their clothing is an important feminine occupation. The urine of young boys is highly esteemed for cleaning and shampooing and is said to be particularly good for cleansing the hair of dandruff and vermin. It is rinsed off with water and soap.[9]

When a child is between six and nine months old it is taken from its cradleboard and allowed to crawl on all fours. Soon thereafter it is taught to walk, guided and encouraged by its mother, perhaps with the help of two parallel bamboo rails set at a convenient height.[10]

As is to be expected, Araucanian children suffer from numerous ailments. When a youngster is ill he is kept indoors close by the fire, and his mother gives him such home treatments as she can. If these fail she may call in a more experienced woman, who examines the child and prescribes additional remedies. The term for medicine is *l-awen*, and two of the most popular items are *pinkul-awen*[11] ("heart-medicine"), and *lig-l'awen* ("white-medicine"), tentatively identified as quinine, which is supposed to be good for stomach ailments.

Decoctions of aromatic plants like ginger and cinnamon are

[9] Several informants endorsed the uses of urine as here given. Those who do not have soap may use a saponaceous plant, *kil'a*, identified in Augusta (1916, I: 104) as *Chenopus* sp.et.

[10] Hassler, 1936, p. 355. I was told about this device, but I had no opportunity to see it in use. It is described and pictured in Joseph, 1935, pp. 714-15.

[11] Augusta (1916, I: 183) identified it as *Linum selaginoides* Lam., family Linaceae.

S.Cooper E-6 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

and clothing, skin dressing, making pottery, and weaving basketry.

Some traces of sporadic drudgery labor by captive taken in warfare or raids appear, but slavery as a developed permanent institution can hardly be said to have been present. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* served at times as middlemen in slave trading with the Spaniards.

ETIQUETTE

It was de rigueur for a visitor, guest, or official messenger to carry out with his host a long series of more or less formalized questions, answers, comments, and compliments, before business or general conversation opened. A guest was supposed to eat all the food set before him. The common salutation on meeting was "mari mari." The weeping salutation between kin and friends, on the return, for instance, from a journey, is recorded by Guevara Silva (1908, p. 62). It was impolite to interrupt a person who was talking, or to pass directly in front of him or to pass between two people conversing without apologizing. One of the most common courtesies was to drink toasts to friends, sharing the drink with them. Before entering a hut, the visitor was supposed to knock; he entered only after an invitation to enter was received from the head of the house.

Among the many common insulting terms were "ghost," "dog," "toad," and, worst of all, "sorcerer." (Havestadt, 1883, 1:298; cf. L. de Valdivia, 1887, s. v. *guyda*; Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:331; Feller Ms, including many grosser insults, in Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 59–65.)

Hospitality was always given to friend and stranger, as a recognized custom.

In more recent times at least, one of the highest courtesies or honors that could be conferred was the *nvtin* (*nvn*), which consisted of rising around a person whom the group wished to honor and of shouting at the same time. (See also table etiquette supra under Eating p. 706).

Personal cleanliness was cultivated through daily bathing in the rivers or streams, even in wintertime, a custom indulged in also by the women and having for both young and old the further purpose of preserving health and strengthening the body. The *Mapuche-Huilliche* were excellent swimmers and divers. The bark of *kalul* (quillay, *Quillaja saponaria*) was used in place of soap to wash the hair. Nevertheless, lice were abundant, a common method of disposing of them being that of killing them with the hands or teeth and eating them. Considerable efforts were also made to keep hair and combing utensils clean.

WARFARE

Warfare in the sense of feuds and battles between *Araucanian* groups themselves was common.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucaniana SG4
Chile

593 14 were evenly divided in their affection for sisters; all girls between 11 and 15 unhesitatingly named an older sister. Reasons why boys love their brother were "I like him," "He has an all-around good will," "He is the dearest one," "He is good to me." Girls like their sisters because "She gives me presents," "She gives me money," "She has good will toward me."

Children of the several wives of a male made no distinction among themselves. "We called each of my father's wives mother, and all the children of all the wives called each other brother and sister."

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

595 (559) A very small child is given a bath by its mother when the mother takes her own. Older children take their own baths daily in all seasons, in brooks or rivers, at springs, or by swimming in deep waters of lakes. Bathing is usually done just before sundown. Girls of a family may go to the bathing place in groups but bathe singly; boys do likewise, but at a different time. Bathers scatter along the shore some distance apart. The hair is washed at each bathing; occasionally it is shampooed with suds made by rubbing bark of quillay between the hands. Children were often seen coming from bathing with dripping hair hanging loose over the shoulders. No soap or substitute is used in bathing. Winds are relied on for drying.

302. Washing the hair in human urine gives it luster, and occasionally a child will do so. "The odor is unbearable," said a teacher; "I send such a child to the brook to wash its hair. Only last Saturday a girl came for a sewing lesson with her hair in that condition."

The hair is combed, today, with factory-made combs, if one is owned. Persons living close to Argentina make the traditional family hairbrush (rusa) from cala cala or from rilan (unidentified), plants that grow in Argentina; in Alepín area, rusa were made from coral, the plant from which lycopus, too, are made. "The brush, as long [4 to 6 inches], is merely roots tied together with grass. We wet the hair first and then brush it." When in use, the root ends of the plants are grasped so that bristles are toward the little finger.

Formerly a boy's hair was cut neck length; today it is cut short "like Chileans wear theirs." Formerly a girl's hair was never cut; that of a small girl hung loose, or had narrow woven bands twisted into portions of it and tied back in a manner to keep the hair from the eyes. Today many small girls have the hair bobbed, "but old people

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

still want a small girl to have long hair." Older girls have it cut shoulder length or longer. To keep the hair from the face, an older girl, today, as formerly, takes a strand of yarn or a narrow band of cloth, passes it under the hair at the back, brings it forward either behind or in front of the ears, and then ties the ends in a knot on top of the head; or, as formerly, she twists the hair that is over the temples, ties the ends of the twists together and lets them hang down the back. Today, some girls wear barrettes to confine the hair and keep it out of their eyes. Schoolchildren were rarely infested with lice; teachers in all areas remarked about this.

Beauty was recognized. When a man and his wife were complimented on their beautiful, dark-eyed children, the man replied, "They have inherited their beauty and eyes from my side—my mother had dark eyes; all my wife's sisters had green eyes."

Most girls seen wore earrings made of flattened circular pieces of silver; a few boys also did. Both boys and girls wore one or several rings. A ring was either a copper or a silver band incised with a repeated design, or a flattened 20-centavo Chilean coin. Rings were worn on any finger. No one wore a necklace. It is not an old custom for girls to wear hair ornaments; but occasionally today at fiestas an adolescent girl has her hair so adorned.

An occasional boy in early adolescence showed interest in his personal appearance, but none wore ornaments, unless rings are so considered. A 12-year-old boy ran home from school the day the Chilean Government school examiner arrived; his clothes, he said, were not good enough for such an occasion. A 13-year-old boy leaned sullen and abashed against a school wall, complaining that the picture that had just been taken of him by surprise would disgrace him; that he wanted to dress up and have another one taken. Girls seemed less finicky about their appearance; none, however, was seen, at any time, carelessly or slovenly dressed or dirty.

FRIENDSHIPS, LEADERSHIP, JOVIALITY

Intimate friendship between two boys or two girls was not institutional; an occasional boy, however, had a "chum"; so did a girl. "Those two boys [14 and 15 years of age] are always together; when anything is going on anywhere they go there together; they have been that way since they were little boys." Two 12-year-old boys asked to be photographed together: "We are friends; we have always been friends."

Games on school grounds were generally played together by children

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

ADULT BEHAVIOR

BATHING, CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

515 Adults bathe often; many do so daily, even during the winter season. "Our people have always bathed much." Bathing is done in flowing water, in rivers or creeks or under waterfalls or at springs. No soap or substitute is used when bathing.

[388] The hair is frequently washed; shampooing is done when bathing is done. Soap is used by those who have it; others make suds by rubbing the bark of quillay between the hands. During the present study a 70-year-old woman took a bath standing in the river a little distance offshore, all but her head covered with her shawl (pl. 29, *2*). After her bath, still standing in the river, she washed her hair. She parted it from neck to forehead, soaped one side well with a bar of soap, and rinsed it thoroughly by splashing it with handfuls of water which she scooped up with both hands as she stooped from the waist; then she treated the other side in the same manner. She noted, "I wash my hair every third day, but I bathe every day." She now fine-combed it. "I use this comb because my son gave it to me; I prefer to use a brush." She dressed her hair in one of the traditional fashions, twisting the hair on the right side and holding the end in her mouth to keep the twist intact; then she twisted the hair on the left side and took the ends of the two twists with opposite hands, slung them over her head, crossed them at the back of the neck, and brought them around the head just above the ears and close to the hairline over the forehead. Here she crossed them again and tucked the ends under and over the twists. It was 6:20 p.m. She walked ashore where she picked up three headbands woven of yarn, one approximately an inch in width and 1½ yards in length, and two narrower ones about a foot in length. The shorter head bands had several horse hairs attached to one end. "These bands I use when I dress up my hair; I wash them every time I wash my hair." A machi in Alepúe area wore a 3-strand braid of reddish hair on the crown of her head; ends hung loose (pl. 29, *1*). The hair is brushed, when wet, with a hairbrush made of roots of calle calle, coral, or rüna (p. 48). An adult woman's hair is never cut. "Formerly parents would not have tolerated even a young girl's hair to be cut—a girl with short hair was no longer admired." A woman, today, parts her hair over the crown from forehead to neck and then either twists (fiatrowe) or braids each half. Always the ends are secured by being rolled into yarn or strips of cloth;

302

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

515

Older women: 1, A machi (Alepüe). 2, Woman bathing and washing her hair in the running water of the Río Llanquihue (Coñaripe).

756

[p. 92(I)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

of them as grown-ups; chose a mate in marriage for each, and provided the exchange of marriage gifts.

The respect shown by children to parents was noteworthy. Parents spoke of young unmarried sons and daughters, gainfully employed, who gave part or all of their earnings to the general support of the family. They also spoke of the obedience of children; complaints about children were rare.

In general, children of a family were agreeable among themselves; quarrelsome ones were corrected, and sometimes punished. Children of simultaneous wives were taught to get along together. "We were like brothers and sisters; parents did not allow their children not to like one another; we had great respect for one another." There were no taboos regarding brother-sister relationships, such as speaking to each other or being in each other's presence.

CHILDREN'S BEHAVIOR

CARE AND DRESSING OF THE HAIR, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

Formerly a girl's hair was not cut but was worn in braids; today most girls have it cut. A boy has always worn his cut; "it was cut like one cuts wool off a sheep." It was cut for the first time when he was 2 to 3 years old.

Most children seen were clean and had the appearance of being well cared for; an occasional one had hair disheveled and face dirty. In general, when at home, children were barefoot and wore mended and faded clothes; in schools, villages, or in homes where visitors were expected, they wore better clothes, and usually shoes. (See pls. 62-67 for children.)

SIGHT AND HEARING OF THE CHILD

Non-Araucanians spoke of the keen sense of sight and hearing of Araucanian children, and of adults, as well. "If they have once seen a horse, they can tell its tracks wherever they see them. Consequently, they can often tell you from a horse's tracks what person passed down the road or path," said an estancia owner who employed Araucanians. A cow or horse that has strayed into a herd of several hundred, or a strange sheep in a large flock, is immediately spotted by them. Children that accompanied the writer through woods and over meadows sighted hidden flowers in crevices, commented on unusually tall grass, and on colors of stones lying at a distance. Insects were identified by their buzzing and birds by their songs and call notes, and both were accurately mimicked.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, hot spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS, PERSONAL APPEARANCE

A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old, so old that he lost all his hair."

The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it